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these circumstances, though it seemed almost unnecessary. Now, I shall come back to the question of the actual situation, and try to make it clear. Though the China Incident did not take the form of declaration of war, it is, at any rate, a sort of war, and is a war on a considerably large scale. It is unavoidable, therefore, that so long as this state of war exists, those rights and interests of the powers in the areas of hostilities in China, would be affected, especially if the foregoing rights and interests turn out to be at the places impeding our military operations. Therefore, if the powers desire not to sustain any damages that might be inflicted upon their rights and interests in China, they should desire the earliest possible settlement of the Incident. If the Incident is settled, their rights and interests should naturally be safeguarded without any protests. However, some powers have helped and are still helping the Chungking Government by affording the Government various facilities and thus strengthening its power of resistance, and have tried to protract the Incident. Especially they are steadily sending Arms and ammunition and other commodities to areas under the Chungking Government by way of so-called "aid-Chiang routes" such as Hongkong, French-Indo China, Kwangchow Bay and Burma; and thus giving the Chiang's regime "cannon-shots," they are trying to strengthen Chiang's power of resistance against Japan and are planning to protract the war even a single day.

It is true, however, the routes through Hongkong and French-Indo China of the above "aid-Chiang routes" have stopped transportation of arms and other commodities in response to our demand since last June.

As regards the "Burman route," Great Britain promised to stop

transportation of munitions, etc. for three months beginning July 13. And though the term will be up on next October 13, it is doubtful whether this blockade of the "Burma route" will be continued or not.

Since the Hongkong and the French-Indo China routes are blocked up, the Burma route is now the only one which is able to transport a considerable amount of commodities. Therefore, whether that route will be reopened or not after it was once blocked, is a great help for us to ascertain the attitude of Great Britain toward us today when the Tripartite Pact has been formed, and we are now watching with great interest what attitude will be taken by Great Britain. And the French-Indo China route was blocked up, as above mentioned, but afterwards it became necessary for us to send our armed forces there, in order to carry out our military operations toward China. Then, negotiations between myself and the French Ambassador in Tokyo came to an agreement on August 30 concerning the passage of our armed forces through the territory of French-Indo China, and the employment of the aerodromes there. Next, on September 4 a sort of agreement was reached between the military authorities of both countries on the spot. Furthermore, on September 22 after much parley, an executive agreement was effected on the spot which enabled our troops stationed at the frontier districts of South China to march across the border line into the territory of French-Indo China, and on the other hand, enabled some of our units to land in Haiphong from the sea. In the mean while only a few cases of trouble broke out, and the relation between our country and French-Indo China has lately developed amicably, and consequently our residents in that territory, who once tried to evacuate on account of the

threatening situation prevailed, have returned to their residences with our consul general there, and the situation seems to have restored to its former normalcy. However, the governments of Great Britain and the United States have made various protests against our Government because they probably misunderstood that Japan was going to occupy French-Indo China by force of arms. But it is clear, as the joint statement of Japan and France shows, that we respect the territorial integrity of French-Indo China, and have no intention of occupying that territory. Concerning this matter, we made clear to the British and American ambassadors whenever they made protests or asked us for informations. As this affair developed, however, the United States has placed a total embargo upon her export of steel scraps to our country, and has given a new credit amounting to \$25,000,000 to Chiang Kai-shek. These policies taken by the U. S. A. seem to justify her protesting attitude toward us.

It goes without saying that our country has absolutely no intention of purposely fighting with any other country, but at the sametime we reject and are derermined to fight to the end with any nation which tries to stand by Chiang Kai-shek, and thus protract the China Incident, and prevent East Asia from restoring to peace.

Mean while, in the European theatre, both Germany and Italy have further intensified their attack on Great Britain, and especially German air forces are engaged in bitter bombing over Great Britain. However, their attacks have not yet reached the critical turning -point in the war in their favor. Accordingly, the United States has remarkably increased her assistance to Great Britain. Main events in this period are as follows:

an agreement of joint defense was effected between Canada and the United States on August 17; on September 3 Great Britain took over 50 destroyers from the United States of America on condition that of the British territories along the Atlantic coasts of both North and South America those which are necessary to the United States as bases of her naval and air forces, shall be offered to the United States; and the tendency is that this cooperation between the two countries has lately spread over the areas ranging from the Pacific Ocean to the Indian Ocean and to the South Seas. There is also an information reporting that the United States is contemplating to conclude such an agreement of joint defense as effected between the United States and Canada with Australia and New Zealand as well. We should regard that the above will be realized.

This Tripartite Pact is indeed a treaty effected under such circumstances and essentially defensive in its nature. Negatively the Pact aims at checking the aggravation of the world chaos which might be accelerated by the new participation of any country either in the China Incident or in the European War, while, positively, it aims at establishing a new order which enables each nation in the world to live in contentment and peace, and at bringing about permanent peace on the basis of justice and impartiality through the cooperation of the three powers -- Japan, Germany and Italy. The fact is that the lofty spirit of so-called "HAKKOICHIU" (the world as one household), in other words, this great ideal of the "YAMATO" race (Japanese) manifested in the Rescript of Emperor JIMMU at the foundation of our country, has for the first time been given shape in the modern international treaty. It is really a sincere desire of mankind and also a Providence, I believe, for the three peoples of Japan, Germany

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This Tripartite Pact is indeed a treaty effected under special circumstances and essentially defensive in its nature. Negatively, it aims at checking the aggravation of the world chaos which might be caused by the new participation of any country either in the Chinese Revolution or the European War, while, positively, it aims at establishing a new order which enables each nation in the world to live in contentment and at bringing about permanent peace on the basis of justice and equality through the cooperation of the three powers -- Japan, Great Britain, and Italy. The fact is that the lofty spirit of so-called "Pan-Asianism" (the world as one household), in other words, this great ideal which was first promulgated when Japan was a small country, and which the "YAMATO" race (Japanese) manifested in the Rescript of the Emperor, the foundation of our country, has for the first time been realized in the modern international treaty. It is really a sincere and earnest endeavor toward enterprises of peace shall sustain the League of Nations and also a Providence, I believe, for the three powers to have entered the League and embarking on a course of its own, our Empire

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Italy to unit firmly into one under this great ideal and lofty spirit in the face of the unprecedented chaotic crisis that the world has ever had.

I think if the Chiang regime, which is still resisting us, should come to appreciate the intrinsic nature of this strong alliance, the same regime will realize that the way to assure the Chinese people to recover and to save the lives of the Chinese masses out of the difficulty is for her to cooperate with the powers of the Tripartite Pact and the New Chinese Government in Nanking in the construction of the Greater East Asia co-prosperity Sphere, rather than to continue to sacrifice a large number of her innocent people by playing a part in the defensive front of the western imperialism.

On the other hand, I am not yet in a position to tell you concretely what response has the conclusion of the Tripartite Pact created, or is going to create among the powers. It is certain, however, that the great strength of the Tripartite Pact has given such a deep impression upon the powers that some of them are taking strong attitude in desperation toward us, and we should always look out for it. At the same time, it seems that a reflective view of what made Japan, Germany and Italy effect such a pact is gradually gaining ground. At any rate, we should always make preparations in anticipation the worst situation.

In the Imperial Rescript promulgated when Japan withdrew from the League of Nations, His Majesty the Emperor specially declared: "However, the advancement of international peace is what, as evermore, we desire, and Our attitude toward enterprises of peace shall sustain no change. By quitting the League and embarking on a course of its own, Our Empire

does not mean that it will stand aloof in the extreme Orient nor that it will isolate itself thereby from the fraternity of nations. It is Our desire to promote mutual confidence between Our Empire and all the other Powers and to make known the justice of its cause throughout the world." Furthermore, in the Imperial Rescript issued when the present alliance was concluded, His Majesty the Emperor said at the outset: "It is a great instruction of Our Imperial Ancestors which We always observe faithfully to uphold the cause of justice and humanity throughout the world and to change the universe into one household". In conformity with this Imperial will, we should more positively exert ourselves to improve our diplomatic relations with other nations, and to bring about true peace all over the world. However, we are living in an unprecedented turbulent age and are unable to tell what accident will further happen, when, and where, And jealousy and suspicion are commonly associated with the age of wars. For example, when we declare that we intend to establish the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere, some states are apt to doubt if Japan, monopolizing the Greater East Asia including the South Seas, is going to shut out other powers from the area and to deny their rightful actions therein. This is not true. The object thereof is to do away with all the improper conducts and measures which the western powers have hitherto practiced as well as all the unnatural restrictions imposed by them upon the rightful actions of human beings in the field of their economic activities such as commerce, enterprise, communications, traffic and the like in the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere. And our country also wishes to act on the same equal basis with the other powers, in order to promote

the prosperity and stabilization of all the races in the Greater East Asia Sphere, so that they may walk along the path of mutual tolerance and welfare with the prerequisite condition of freedom to cut and decide their own respective way to Fortune.

In short, Japan, unlike the practice hitherto committed by the western powers neither intends to swallow up any territories nor conquer, nor exploit any people in this sphere. On the contrary, Japan wants to free, the natives from the imperialistic oppressions, to love them as brothers and sisters instead of treating them as slaves, and to establish a relation of mutual existence and prosperity. The reason why Japan intends to adopt such a policy is not because of the regard for other states, or because she considers it a wise policy under the present trend of the world, but because of her fear of Heaven. That our country is the divine land means, in a sense, that if our state acts in accordance with Providence, we can enjoy divine grace, whereas if not, we shall incur the wrath of Heaven. Therefore, when we carry out our foreign policy, I believe that we must pay attention to the fact that our country is the divine land. Indeed our future is full of difficulties. At the present moment, we should exert ourselves to construct a strong defensive country in which 100,000,000 of us shall be united into one, and at the same time, to consolidate the economic relations in the Greater East Asia Sphere.

With these objectives in view, Mr. KOBAYASHI, Minister of Commerce and Industry, has been specially sent to the Dutch Indies and is now engaged in negotiations with the authorities there, and likewise a special envoy is going to be dispatched to French-Indo China. We want also

to strengthen coalition with Thailand and other countries in the future.

In connection with the present pact, I should like to touch upon how our country should deal with the relations between us and the Soviet Union.

The relations between our country and the Soviet Union, heretofore, have not been friendly for various reasons, but I believe that at this critical moment which might be called the time of a world revolution, both countries should not quarrel with each other at the corner of East Asia. I believe that the time has now come when, if there is any misunderstanding or if there are any pending problems between the two countries, we should now try to remove or settle them and should cooperate for a greater mission. In the Soviet Union they are repeatedly saying that they won't pick up chestnuts in the fire for any other state. This is the same with every nation. Under the present circumstances nothing would be more favorable to other states in the world than conflict between the Soviet Union and Japan. I believe nothing would result more in picking up Chestnuts in the fire for others than this. Accordingly in article 4 of the present treaty, we have made it clear that this pact shall not at all affect the relations between the Soviet Union and the contracting powers -- Japan, Germany and Italy. However, we can never tolerate communism to be prevalent in our country or in both Manchuria and China, and it goes without saying that there is further need for the strict control of it. Therefore, one of the objectives of the movement of "SHINTAISEI" (the New Order), for instance, should be to eliminate, on one hand, every social contradiction from which dangerous thoughts are liable to spring

and to strengthen the spirit of the Imperial Way by holding our nation closely together, and practising social justice, and on the other, to root out such ideologies as communism and democracy which do not fit to our national structure. Practically speaking, under the present international situation, we are compelled to handle the question of ideology as a domestic problem, rather than an international and we have to deal with international questions, namely questions between one country and another, apart from the question of ideology. Strictly speaking, this is a very difficult problem, but I believe we should consider it as the actual tendency of the existing international political situation and deal with it accordingly. In this connection, I wish you will have a deep insight into the fact, and consider the two factors separately.

The last point I should like to touch upon on this part is the fact that although it has been effected, it does not necessarily mean that Japan will take part in the European War, or will immediately make an enemy of any power other than Germany and Italy. So long as the powers which have not yet participated in the European War or the China Incident do not attack any of the three Countries--Japan, Germany and Italy, nor disturb our plan of the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere, our country is willing to be in friendly terms with them and to share in the godsend benefits. It goes without saying that we have no intention of breeding unnecessary troubles with them. Therefore we should strictly refrain from raising any rash anti-foreign agitation without any justifiable reasons.

By the way, as there are instances in which a trivial matter result-

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ing in a grave consequence or effect, I should like to add a few more words in this connection. I dare say it is not infrequent that the attitude of our policemen in charge of foreign nationals is apt to be unnecessarily irritating toward them. To be frank with you, this state of affair has so far turned out to be unfavourable to our country in dealing with international problems.

We are in a period of emergency today, and it may be more difficult, I am sure, to deal with this affair than in normal times, but for the very reason that this is an emergency, I hope you will be all the more prudent about this matter. I should like to ask you to stop, as far as possible, any interference or supervision which is apparently not in line with our common sense. At the same time, I should like to ask you to instruct our people to be magnanimous worthy of a great nation in advancing toward our great aim. I believe that the pact which has been concluded this time shows this direction very clearly. I am now feeling that the dark clouds and fog that had long been hanging low before us since the outbreak of the China Incident have now been swept away, and we can now see a bright future full of hope, though the way to it may be very difficult and steep. I earnestly hope and am counting on you that you officials will make our people understand well what I have said today and at this critical moment when the destiny of the "YAMATO" race, (Japanese) nay, of the entire human beings of the world may be determined, you will render your service to our country together with our whole 100,000,000 people united as one body.

C E R T I F I C A T E

Statement of Source and Authenticity

I, HAYASHI, Kaoru, Chief of Archives Section, Japanese Foreign Office, hereby certify that the document hereto attached in Japanese consisting of 14 pages and entitled "Address of Matsuoka, Foreign Minister, at the Governor's Conference, October 7, 1940." is an exact and true copy of an official document of the Japanese Foreign Office.

Signed at Tokyo

on this 7th day of December, 1946.

/S/ K. HAYASHI
Signature of Official

Witness: Nagaharu Odo